/401 cont./

178 occupation may be. Imported products appear only at breakfast: *262 bread, sweetened condensed milk, lumps of sugar. The other [264] two meals are still always composed of four products, rice, [439] millet, fish, and meat, which may be combined in different ways, and a fifth that is always present, oil. The single element of diversity comes from the more or less great variety and the more or less great quantity of vegetables and manioc that are incorporated into the traditional dishes, and, of course, the skillful proportion of condiments of all sorts.

*511 With a few exceptions (1), the study of the expenses of *262 [177]

1. The more important exceptions are Nos. 39 and 43. These two units of consumption have entirely adopted European food habits, and are otherwise not comparable with the others. This is why we neglect them a little on this point.

our families for food is very nearly limited, aside from bread, milk, and sugar, to a description of the variations ascertained in the consumption of these few essential products.

One can state that in general all of our families consume rice by liking and millet by necessity. Rice is the food of choice, millet entering in only when the financial situation of the family demands it, or in order all the same to provide a little variety.

243 Rice is 30 to 35% more expensive than millet. It is culti- 311 vated on a small scale in a few wet zones in the countryside ● [435] around Thiès, whereas millet grows nearly everywhere. The * [511] truly productive rice zones closest to Thiès are the Casamance to the south and the lower course of the Senegal to the north. On the east it appears only with the upper course of this river and in the region /402/ drained by the Niger and its tributaries, *262 in Guinea, and in the Sudan. In reality, it is an imported 177 product. The traditional diet of this region was primarily based on millet.

/405 cont./

511 *kilograms of millet. This is a good deal, but not excessive.
262 *The following greatest consumption is that of No. 9, a Peul who purchases the rice that he eats in large quantity by liking and by tradition, but also consumes the little millet that he cultivates. 21.5 and 2.8 kilograms, respectively. This is nearly normal for a Peul from Fouta Djalon. And the very low figures of consumption are in the majority. We give them as information, leaving the task of judging them to the specialists (2).

2. The average consumption of rice for all the families is 8.2 kilograms. The average consumption of millet is 5.8 kilograms.

We have put alongside our quantities of rice and millet those of bread. Let us state on this subject that, except for the baker, all consumption higher than four kilograms per man per month is /406/ found among the workers and employees (with the exception of No. 6 and No. 38, the latter having a more varied diet in other respects). All of our families habitually [264] eat bread, and all except three only for breakfast.

The portion of the income devoted to bread (Table X)[1] is far from being negligible and sometimes exceeds 10%. Bread [435] is regarded as a luxury product; it is even more expensive than [264] rice! And it is certainly because of its utility (it requires no preparation before being consumed) that it is utilized, but only for the first meal of the day. The average consumption of our families is in any case quite low: 3.5 kilograms per man per month, or 113 grams per day. At the time of rationing in France, the average ration amounted to 300 grams.

Eighteen families in all exceed this average of 113 grams per day per month. This greater consumption was noted, logically, among the largest incomes (11 out of 18) where its purchase rarely requires more than 5% of the income. This percentage reaches 6.9 for family 29, and, for the lower incomes exceeding

1 [see cat 116 pp 51-53 - ANALYST]

/406 cont./
*511 the average of 3.5 kilograms, it is, in increasing order, 6.2%,
*262 6.9%, 7.9%, 10.1%, 10.2%, 10.3%, and 11.8%.

Fish and meat constitute the second group of essential foods for the Africans of the cities of Senegal.

[438] Thiès, near a coast very rich in fish, is abundantly pro-
[435] vided with fish. In the month of March 1954, there was a profusion of them in all the markets at the nearly constant price of 40 francs a kilogram.

[435] Meat is much more expensive. The price most commonly verified at this time was 80 francs, double that of fish. There was no significant variation in the price during the period of the investigation. Uniform quality is to be understood. Now, with four exceptions (1), our families only bought meat at 80

1. Nos. 38, 39, 42, and 43.

francs a kilogram. To make all of the families comparable, we have divided the prices actually paid by 80 and obtained quantities of meat of a single quality.

The information that we received concerning meat and fish is assembled in Tables VI and VII[1]4 presented in the same manner as that relating to rice and millet. The last /407/ column of Table VI shows the families who on the whole consume more meat than fish. (Only quantities are involved here.)

There are ten of them, plus one just at the limit, including No. 43 which we eliminated.

Among the ten others, six have already appeared before us as consuming more millet than rice; they are Nos. 1, 7, 10, 24, 32, and 41. This fact cannot be explained here by either the size of the group of consumers or by the financial possibilities, since meat is twice as expensive as fish. It is probably that for these six families the greater consumption of meat is a direct consequence of the greater consumption of millet. Among our four basic products, the most common associations are in fact that of rice with fish and that of millet with meat. The two

1 [See cat 116, pp 31-36 - ANALYST]

/410 cont./

*511 *262 is a high average, but does not seem excessive to us. Still, one must consider the six families where more of it is consumed: from 5 to 7.5 liters per person per month. This is indeed a great deal. With these families eliminated, the average falls to 1.9 liters, and it is reached or exceeded by 25 families. Only two figures for consumption are low: those for Nos. 1 (0.5 and 19 (0.1).

[435] But oil is expensive, 100 francs a liter on the average, and its consumption /411/ is therefore limited; thus, No. 4 in our series, with the purchase of 15 liters monthly, 2.8 per man, devotes 21.1% of his income to it (Table VIII).[1/1] An individual of No. 2, who consumes 1 1/2 liters of it each month, uses 12.6% of his income for it. And what would become of the budget of No. 1 if all the members of the unit of consumption picked up the notion of consuming the average two and a half liters; the purchase of the 25 liters required would take 42.8% of the family income.

Moreover, it is significant to see that the quantities of oil consumed do not increase with the incomes. Among the last nine families there is no figure higher than four liters per man per month.

*511 *262 263 We have grouped under the rubric "Condiments" (Table VIII) commodities that in fact are quite dissimilar. Their caloric value is of little importance. Nevertheless the height of misery for the Africans would be to be unable to relieve their diets, first, with condiments properly speaking, pepper, salt, vinegar, pimentos, then with small quantities of vegetables, properly qualifying as condiments because they are bought in only very small quantities, and finally with dried fish, whose flavor is infinitely superior to that of fresh fish; it often replaces the latter in the rice with fish, if not in quantity, at least in quality.

The percentages given in this column of Table VIII thus refer to a whole group of minor products, from the crushed baobab leaf to the slices of dried fish: parsley, onions, garlic, bits of sugar beets and cabbage, ground tomatoes, various

1/1 [See cut 116, pp 40-42 - ANALYST]

*511 /411 cont./
*262 products of gathering. All, let us repeat, in very small daily
263 quantities. Moreover, these are the products[1] that are the
443 objects involved in the small-scale commerce of the women;
434 quite often buying two or three times more than they need,
*511 they set up a little flat basket before the door of their con-
438 cession and suggest to the passers-by that they spare them-
selves the fatigue of going all the way to the market. They
can make very small profits in this way, from five to ten francs
a day.

*511 Nevertheless, with one thing added to another, the costs
*262 of these various condiments end up by absorbing another rela-
263 tively important part of the familial income (1).

1. The portion for dried fish is generally very close to 1/5 of the figures given.

The size of this income thus acts as a check on their consumption, but ultimately only the taste and the habits of each are truly determinative. /412/ /Table VIII appears here./ /413/ /Table IX appears here./

/414/ We mentioned under the rubric "Vegetables" only the truly important purchases. It is the housewife herself who calls them either vegetables or condiments, according to the importance that they will have in the meal that she is going to prepare; a greater quantity of vegetables will permit reducing the quantity of rice or millet. If the latter does not change, they are condiments. The nuance is understandable. Our investigators themselves made it, and it was subsequently difficult for us not to take it into account.

*511 The quantities given in Table IX[2] are not actual quantities.
*262 We have again in this case eliminated the factor of quality,
the differences in quality being replaced by differences in
quantity. The "standard vegetable" chosen was the cabbage,
[435] which in March 1953 was worth 20 francs a kilogram. This

1 [i.e. - various condiments - ANALYST]
2 [see cat 116, pp 43-45 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on p. 46]

/415 cont./

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have no purchase price from which we could have obtained a valid weight in "cabbage unit."

No. 36, which consumes neither meat nor millet, normally makes up for this with vegetables. With No. 38 we are in the category of higher incomes where no restriction is envisaged by reason of size of family. It is undoubtedly with this family that we reach the upper limit of the consumption of vegetables.

Let us recall once more that though the costs are the actual costs, the quantities are fictive. Hence, it is not 19.7 kilograms of cabbage that an individual of family 36 consumes each month. For the latter in particular (the only one where we saw the housewife shell peas) it is the highness of the quality, hence of the price, that has led us to a figure likewise high. The observation is valid for the other families that we shall cite; the reduction of the composition of the unit of consumption permits improvement not only in the quantity but also in the quality of the products consumed.

Beside the columns "Vegetables" we have put the information received concerning manioc. Cheap food (from 14 to 17 [435] francs a kilogram), it is not greatly liked by the Africans. But it has spread widely; its cultivation requires almost no care, and the yields are high.

It is therefore used especially as a food to tide one over; it is to be noted that, with one exception, the families consuming the most are never those who uniformly consume more than ten kilograms of vegetables per individual. In only one case was more than 3% of the income devoted to it.

We shall have finished the study of the principal food commodities after having mentioned sugar and milk (Tables X and XI).[1]

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The average consumption of sugar per individual is 1.7 kilograms for one month. But we find only a few figures that are very far below this average. The highest figure is 2.7.

[1] [see ant 116, pp 51-56 - ANALYST]

/415 cont./

*511 263 Most of them are very close to the average. There is thus a kind of uniformity in the consumption of sugar, and it is probably that here, too, we are in the presence of an upper limit.

/416/ The portion of the income devoted to sugar is thus going to vary according to the size of the income and the composition of the unit of consumption. The maximum noted is 10% for No. 4, the minimum 0.3 for No. 43 (1.2 for No. 42).

*511 272 [177] The same uniformity does not exist for sweetened condensed milk. Its use is spreading more and more, but all the same there are ten families who do not consume it at all.

The average consumption was established, for one man, at 589 grams per month for the 43 families, at 767 if one eliminates those that do not consume any.

Fourteen families out of 33 are above this average, only four of whom are in the top of the table. And, as in the case of vegetables, these 24 families are precisely the least numerous. The largest theoretical composition of the unit of consumption among these 24 families is that of No. 38, 10.5. But this is for an income of 50,000 francs per month. The next maximum is 8.6 for No. 29. Here, too, the size of the unit of consumption is essential.

Twenty-seven families utilize fresh milk besides or to supplement the condensed milk. Only two did not consume either one. But this consumption of fresh milk is quite limited; the average, solely for the utilizers, is 1.1 liters. It is habitual in only one case, No. 42, where a liter is bought every day. Moreover there is no periodicity anywhere. Fresh milk is therefore not used systematically for only breakfast. It is preferably [264] utilized for the rice mush that many families like to eat in the [855] afternoon. It is then reserved for women and children. This is the only point where we found a special diet for children, except from time to time when a mango or guava is bought solely for them.

[435] Fresh milk costs more proportionally than condensed milk: 40 francs a liter as against 40 francs for a case of 400 grams of Nestlé milk.

/416 cont./

*511 272 [452] Above all it is infinitely less practical, keeping less long. Besides, condensed milk has the advantage in that it can be purchased in quantity at the beginning of the month and on credit.

Nevertheless it is in the group of small incomes that one finds the most regularity in its consumption; in the group of 5,000 to 8,000 francs in income, only two families have a consumption per man lower than one liter per month. From No. 12 to No. 24, up to incomes higher than 15,000 francs, it is always below one liter. In the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs, out of seven represented, in six it is higher than one liter.

There are thus few points of comparison between these two categories /417/ of milk. Their use is different, and they do not seem to be complementary.

We cannot speak of milk without saying a word about its breakfast complement, coffee. Its consumption is extremely variable. A product of the country, the quinquéliba, practically free, often substitutes for it, no matter what the income or occupational group. Coffee is perhaps a little more common in the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs. The percentage, in proportion to the income, of the sums which are devoted to it is in general higher. Consumption thus increases in great proportions. Unfortunately it is impossible here to speak of quantities; coffee is sold ground, by pinches, and at [435] variable prices. We therefore only have elements for judging the outlays made for this product. Be that as it may, milk and coffee are important fixtures in the budget of African families; often 8 to 14% of the income is devoted to them (1).

1. Nos. 11 and 17 are Moors and thus traditionally drink tea. No. 11 devotes 1.3% of his income to it; No. 17, 4.4%. No. 39 takes cacao at breakfast; 0.7% of the income.

/420 cont./

*511 *262 We sometimes found butter, but only once in an important amount, again in the case of No. 40, who devotes 2.5% of his income to it. The same No. 40 devotes another 2% of his 55,000 francs monthly for cheese. Two others copy him on this point: No. 34, 0.9%; No. 38, 0.3%.

Eggs appeared in five cases, all among the incomes over 15,000 francs and in small quantities, except fot No. 41 (2.8%). Likewise we sometimes found very small quantities of flour, sometimes potatoes: 0.8% of the income for No. 16; 1.7% for No. 21; 2.2% for No. 26; 1.9% for No. 35; and "traces" for a few others. Macaroni in two cases: No. 35, 0.5% of the income; No. 38, 0.1%. Fruits in two cases: No. 34, 3.1%; No. 39, 1.1%.

There are also quantities of little fancy articles that our families provide for themselves: a can of sardines, a bottle of mineral water, a package of bonbons, etc., always in too negligible a quantity for us to consider them seriously in this study of budgets.

*511 276 The only product that is quite generally consumed but that we hesitate to put in the category of "food" is the kola nut, which is chewed by habit, a habit which is difficult to break, like tobacco among others. In the case of some it can absorb an important part of the income (see Table XI).[1] Our five cultivators have a large consumption of it. Others say that this is because in the dry season they have nothing else to do. Let us note that for No. 10, who moreover has the lowest food standard, 5% of the total income is devoted to it.

Incidentally we can compare these figures with those obtained for tobacco (five cases).

/421/

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No. 11: | 3.9% of the income | | (worker) |
| No. 16: | 5.7% | -- | (worker) |
| No. 17: | 0.1% | -- | (worker |
| No. 19: | 6.7% | -- | (accountant) |
| No. 36: | 4.2% | -- | (accountant) |

For No. 11 we have 1.3% for kola; for No. 19, 0.6%.

[435] All the same, kola is less expensive than tobacco. And, it is

[1] [apparently Table XII is meant, see cat 116, pp 59-60 - ANALYST]

/427 cont./ Table XIV (cont.)

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| No. | Ethnic Group | Occupation | Income | Clothing | Equip-ment | Exceptional Expenses |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 | Wolof | Weigher | 24,000 | 22.5 | 1.0 | -- |
| 31 | Wolof | Carpenter | 25,000 | 5.0 | 1.0 | -- |
| 32 | Wolof | Cultivator | 25,000 | 2.6 | 13.3 | -- |
| 33 | Sérère | Chauffeur | 25,000 | 9.3 | 5.0 | -- |
| 34 | Wolof | Employee P.T.T. | 25,900 | 16.0 | 8.7 | 0.6 |
| 35 | Wolof | Managerial employee | 27,000 | 9.2 | 3.7 | 2.6 |
| 36 | Wolof | Private accountant | 34,000 | 15.9 | 0.4 | 1.9 |
| 37 | Wolof | Truck-gardener | 36,000 | 9.2 | 1.3 | 3.4 |
| 38 | Wolof | Jeweler | 50,000 | 9.5 | 4.1 | 4.2 |
| 39 | Sarakolé | Teacher | 51,000 | 11.4 | 2.0 | -- |
| 40 | Wolof | Chief worker | 55,000 | 12.1 | 2.2 | -- |
| 41 | Sarakolé | Head employee | 55,500 | 9.0 | 5.2 | -- |
| 42 | Bambara | Chief worker | 56,000 | 13.2 | 8.1 | 16.0 |
| 43 | Wolof | Doctor | 81,000 | 6.1 | 1.0 | 3.0 |

/428 cont./

*511 796 435 262 426

would have to be truly exceptional circumstances for this rule to be derogated. A sheep is worth 1,500 to 3,000 francs. And, of course, it is not interdicted to kill several of them. The mutton must be accompanied by various dishes, also as copious as possible.1/1 All of this adds up to large outlays and often indebtedness for several months. The percentages in proportion to the monthly incomes are low, but it is in one month that all these expenses occur, and also many devoted to clothing. It is difficult not to go into debt.

1/1 [for the Moslem holiday - Tabaski - ANALYST]

/157 cont./

175 369 [423] urbanization. An initial slice was portioned out, and a parcel was allocated to the head of each family that was expelled. Ownership granted an uncertain title, but it could become definite if the occupant improved his parcel by building a durable dwelling on it. At first the authorities hardly believed in the existence of Pikine; there was no easy communication with Dakar, since the auto road did not yet exist, there was no connection by express bus, no stores, etc. It was believed that the people expelled would return to occupy other lands on the outskirts of Dakar. Contrary to all expectation, /158/ Pikine lived, prospered, and grew by the same process that had given it birth, to the point that today [435] the parcel which originally had no value costs from 30,000 to 40,000 francs. On the other hand, the dwellings that the Office de l'Habitat has now built in the districts are [426] sold on credit to those who have the desire and the means to obtain them.

Pikine thus originated through an administrative decision; it is an agglomeration which has no tradition, no past, a city of recent date and entirely created. Moreover, this brief historical account brings to light another difference which has to do with the mode of peopling it: in the districts it is voluntary, while in the quarters it has been more or less imposed by the administration.

121 This assemblage of peculiar traits make Pikine a very interesting city from the sociological point of view. The investigation, which was conducted during the latter half of 1960, pursued a threefold goal: first, to collect a certain number of general data which would complete or confirm those which had already been gathered; then to examine to what extent the difference in housing conditions did or did not produce a perceptible difference in behavior and style of living, especially with regard to the family; finally, in correlation with the preceding problem, to study the evolution of family behavior in an urban environment and to observe the appearance of new familial structures better adapted to an urban environment than the traditional family.

/187 cont./

1) Housing Conditions

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342 The dwelling is in the first rank of these material factors. Of what is the house constructed, how many rooms are there, how is it occupied, etc.? There are all sorts of questions which must be answered in order to give a true picture of the conditions in which most of the families of Pikine live. What follows obviously applies only to the quarters, except where we specify that it is likewise a matter of the districts. Out of a sample of 281 structures one counts 206 in wood, 45 in durable material, 12 in "crinting" (1), and 18 in straw.

[285] 1. One calls "crinting" the walls whose framework is composed of plaited rushes and which are covered with a coating of sand and cement.

The chief material, used in more than 75% of the cases, is therefore wood, which one encounters in all forms: long building boards, ends of boxes, etc. The quality of the wood, the professional competence of the artisans, the size of the house, and the arrangement of the rooms, all these elements are combined to produce very different types of construction which run from the extreme dilapidation of the one-room hut with disjointed boards, gaping roof, and a sand floor, scarcely larger than a dog kennel, to the comfortable cottage consisting of several rooms, with ceiling and veranda, the price of which may exceed 200,000 francs. [435]

/188/ Except for these extreme cases, which are rare, most of the wooden dwellings can be divided into three principal types. The first is the house of two rooms, about six or seven meters long and three to three and one-half meters wide. The second is built in the same way, but contains a third room, which increases the length by three or four meters. These are two types of a purely functional model used to provide a shelter for personal objects and a roof for the night.

[11 cont.]
369 been distributed for the older children.
583 a) The Pani (the box). In appearance it may be ordinary or magnificent, according to the aesthetic inclinations of the sisters of the husband. Often it is an old metal box that contained tidbits. In any case it is not the appearance that interests us, but the contents, which generally are:

[301]
12 louis d'or 51;
2 gold necklaces, we say "chains";
2 pairs of gold earrings;
1 or 2 pairs of gold bracelets;
4 or 8 sautoirs, medals of gold which encircle the figure.

[435] The box is found already prepared among the jewelers. Its minimum price is 6,000 francs. Its value easily reaches 20,000 francs and more.

b) The Basket for Effects. This is an expense of recent character and of practical import. Formerly, on the day of [585] the nuptials, the husband gave his wife a bundle of banknotes as personal property accruing to her from her marriage. But the tradition that the woman should be generous made this money disappear immediately, distributed among the persons of caste who came from everywhere. I would have willingly given, if I had known it, the name of the first Saint-Louis man who replaced this packet of money with a quantity of clothing, thus putting his wife in a position to benefit from it herself. The basket actually contains articles whose number and quality vary, but which constitute a veritable trousseau no less, which may last for years. For an individual from a "great family" or a "peasant," it includes as much as:

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12 robes [boubous] of crepe de Chine (of which 4 of 8 meters each are obligatory, 160 francs per meter);
12 robes of rich bazin (4 obligatory of 8 meters each at 225 francs per meter);
4 camisoles, ordinary or of Lagos fabric;
[12] 4 camisoles of crepe de Chine (extravagantly cut to a length of 4 or 5 meters);

[12 cont.]

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12 silk headkerchiefs (6 obligatory, valued at 500 to 600 francs each;
12 kerchiefs with "edging" [mouchoirs de "bord"] (6 obligatory, valued at 300 to 375 francs each);
2 silk handkerchiefs;
4 Mauritanian mats, on which the objects are detailed, valued at 500 francs each, and most of all rare, which costs dearly.

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c) Basket of Small Goods. This is a creation of the well-bred man of Saint-Louis, who during the 3 or 8 or 15 days that the nuptials last wishes the guests to be treated well. The young people of both sexes are supposed to crowd into the spacious rooms, suitably decorated and illuminated, and to be "overwhelmed" by the songs of the griots. The husband considers their rejoicings an imperious duty and offers them a basket generally containing several packs of cards, packages of toothpicks, perfume, razor blades, pipes, tobacco, incense, kohéal, fans, tidbits, etc.

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d) The Gifts. These expenses are the final obligations and bear the name of "decorations of castes." As we have noted, since the first visit of the husband, the persons of caste have not officially benefited further from his generosity or from that of his wife. But custom requires that these people be gratified. It should be noted also that the guers have their men of caste who are faithful to them from father to son. In their presence and when they are equal to their task. Whatever their fortune or rank (in the Europeanized society), a guer cannot address any other persons of caste without their permission. Only one coiffeuse arranges the hair of a young girl until her marriage, and one jeweler repairs or makes her finery. The marriage is the ceremony of their dedication and the occasion of proving to them that they have not placed their confidence in vain. These persons comprise two categories: that of the woman and that of the man. Let us note at once that the latter cannot be too demanding without showing a lack of the proper attitude. They form part of the general staff of the husband, and, under penalty

[576]
[302]
[306]

/17 cont./

499 438 each year. In spite of the use of cars of great capacity, the transport facilities are insufficient during the first months of trade. However, the practice of degressive tariffs, so as not [651] to place at a disadvantage the production of regions that are farther from the place of destination, limits all the more the possibility of an increase of vehicles, since the traffic in groundnuts is essentially seasonal and it poses a problem of return freight. The three ports of Dakar, Kaolack, and 438 Ziguinchor consitute, for exports, freight breaking-points [504] between land transport and maritime transport. The latter [505] is handled for the most part by the vessels of companies who undertake regular service: Delmas et Vieljeux, Maurel et Prom, etc.; they also have competition from the tramps. 435 These /18/ multiple freight-breaks weigh quite heavily on 438 the price of groundnuts, quite low at the outset, due to the fact that each of them is accompanied by multiple manipulations.

2) The manipulations. In its present organization, the circuit of the groundnuts involves many manipulations, because the product is transported in bags. At each step it is necessary to weigh the bags, to empty them into the secco, and then, when they are again forwarded, to proceed to another weighing and rebagging. Over and above the cost of the labor, the firms and sometimes the traders must bear the great expense of buying and repairing great quantities of bags which quickly wear out or go astray. M. Barbier estimates that a bag of groundnuts undergoes 16 handlings at the minimum from the place of production to the port. A solution to this problem might be found in transporting the product loose, by trucks and cars with gratins, loaded by mechanical transporters. These transformations presuppose great investments, which the groundnut, a cheap and, above all, seasonal product, cannot amortize.

3) Regulation of the condition. The decree of 11 January [656] 1926 created an Office d'inspection et de conditionnement de l'arachide /Office of Inspection and of the Condition of

/18 cont./

435 Groundnuts/ which controlled the quality of the product in
438 the escales and in the ports. This office, which functioned
656 under the responsibility of the local Chambres de Commerce, applied the norms of "the practice of Bordeaux" of 1922. In
[685] the escales the lots with impurities of more than 2% were returned, and fines could be slapped on the sellers whose product concealed more than 3%. A second control was established in the ports. Since 1947 this office has been replaced by a "Service de contrôle et du conditionnement," which inspects the product only in the ports, thus making only the exporter responsible. All merchandise with impurities of more than 2%, and an average of more than 4% acidity for the decorticated product, is refused or subject to a reduction in price. Several years ago the commercial houses acquired sieves which permit the elimination of much debris, but they are often poorly utilized, and the groundnuts from Senegal usually have considerable debris, stalks or other things.

438 The complications of the circuit of the groundnuts, its
656 inadequacies, have stimulated many projects of rationalization, which for the most part recommend loose transport, stockpiling in silos, and rigorous control over the quality. At present a public body, the "Secteur d'expérimentation et de rationalisation du circuit de l'arachide" (S.E.R.C.A.) is concerned with this, but it singularly lacks any means.

435 /19/ 3. The marketing of the groundnut and the problem of prices. Up to the Second World War, all the transactions in groundnuts were free; the prices varied considerably as a function of supply and demand. During the war the "Groupement national d'achat des produits oléagineux" (G.N.A.P.O.) /National Group for the Purchase of Oleaginous Products/ controlled the market and authoritatively fixed the price. After the war, during the campaign of 1950-1951, the return to freedom led to a spectacular jump in the market price of groundnuts, which, at production, went from 18 to 30

/19 cont./

435 francs C.F.A. per kilo of shells. This situation led to an intervention by the public authorities, anxious to fix a stable price at production.

1) The purchase-price at production and the standard of living of the producer of groundnuts. It was impossible to make any calculation of the price of groundnuts at the stage of production because of the lack of available data with regard to the elements of the cost price. The government determined the price at production, starting from the price C.F.A. in France and subtracting the various costs of commercialization, imposts, and maritime transport. Since the 1955-1956 campaign, these prices have been about 22 francs C.F.A. per kilo of shells at Dakar, 21.25 at Kaolack, and 20.5 at Ziguinchor. Actually these prices are much higher than the world market price. According to M. Barbier, they are the "social and political" prices. In a word, the French consumer "accepts" an overprice for the finished product.

434 435 What does the price thus fixed represent for the producer? Since it is impossible to obtain data on the cost price, only an idea of the exchange value /valeur libératoir/ of a kilo of groundnuts can be used. All of the statistics utilize the criterion of the price of millet and rice, basic commodities for the producer of groundnuts. Although the value of this reference can be argued, it would appear that, after the difficult period of the war, the producer has seen an increase in his purchasing power, which around 1951 was comparable to that of the period preceding the conflict. Since that date, however, in spite of the sacrifices consented to by the French consumer, he has been able to maintain his living standard only by appreciably increasing the volume of the harvest, that is, of the area cultivated, because the progression of the price of millet, through the deficient harvests, and of rice, through Indochina's leaving the franc zone, has been faster than that of the market price of groundnuts. Nevertheless, recourse to the notion of "ratio of exchange" for the producer of groundnuts,

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434 obtained by the ratio of the index of the F. O. B. price of
435 groundnuts to the balanced index of the various import products, led to a more encouraging situation: on a base of 100 for 1949, the ratio of exchange in 1958 would be 114.5 in favor of the Senegalese producer. M. Barbier concludes: "The ratio of exchange for the Senegalese producer has /20/ been improved; the difference in it can be confirmed in most of the underdeveloped areas."

Actually all of these calculations are theoretical, and, on the whole, the living standard of the producer has remained low. The "average" cultivator, cultivating about a hectare, receives less than 20,000 francs C. F. A. for an average yield of 800 kilograms. This sum is modest, and, it must be added, at the time of selling an important part
[452] goes for the settlement of debts in cash and especially in kind, contracted during the winter with the trader at a very high interest rate. It is estimated that the total of these credits represents 20% of the value of the harvest.

435 This fixing of the price at production considerably
439 reduces the fluctuations of the market, which in fact is governed by the needs of the former mother country.

2) The groundnut market depends on the needs of France. One cannot speak of competition at the selling stage in a market where the purchase prices paid to the producer are authoritatively fixed. In fact the demand essentially depends on French needs, as is decidedly expressed in the decree of 13 November 1954 which regulates the importation of oleaginous products in the mother country. Senegal can export to it a quota of 225,000 metric tons oil-equivalent, at a guaranteed minimum price and duty free. This price may vary within narrow limits, around 5%. The regularization of the market is handled by an official body, the Société interprofessionnelle des oléagineux fluides alimentaires (S. I. O. F. A.), solely qualified to import from foreign countries in order to depress prices and bring them back under

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435 439 the maximum price in periods of shortages. On the other hand this body supports the market prices when they are under the minimum price in a period of overproduction, thanks to a maintenance fund provided for by a tax of 2.50 N.F. per metric ton of decorticated groundnuts imported.

Nevertheless, apart from the quota absorbed by the mother country and the satisfaction of local needs, during certain campaigns, 1957-1958, for example, there is a problem of the disposal of large surpluses. At the beginning of 1958, 102,000 metric tons of decorticated groundnuts were available, unpledged by the S.I.O.F.A. In order to ensure disposal, while respecting the price at production, the public authorities created at Dakar, in February 1958, a stabilization body such as exists for coffee and cacao. This body, taking a sixth of the export duty on groundnuts and oil, and a professional assessment, could make good a part of the difference between the world price and that of the franc zone, the remainder being taken care of by the mother country. This body is still far from possessing the financial power of the "Marketing Boards" of Nigeria.

/21/ Just as the public authorities could intervene effectively in a period of abundance, they also had occasion to settle provisionally a dispute between purchasers during the deficient campaign of 1954-1955.

258 435 439 3) Competition between purchasers and the agreement of January 1956. The Senegalese oil-factories, having become very powerful after the war, are prone to acquire great tonnages, which could only lead to competition and conflict with the traditional purchasers for the mother country in a year of shortage. This is what happened during the 1954-1955 campaign, when the harvest amounted to only 390,000 metric tons. Not bound to respect the price set by the intervention of the S.I.O.F.A., the local oil-makers made the price rise. The protests of the buyers for the mother country let to the intervention of the Haut-Commissariat, which fixed 330,000 metric tons of

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258 groundnuts in shells as the quota assigned to local industries,
435 with the distribution among them to be based on their activi-
439 ties of the previous years.

In order to avoid any repetition of such conflicts, the oil-makers of the mother country and their colleagues in Senegal on 17 January 1956 reached an agreement valid for five years. The local oil-makers can buy 420,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. On the other hand, they can forward to France, under exemption, within the framework of the quota of 225,000 metric tons, only 10,000 metric tons of refined oil. The greatest part of their exports is represented by crude oil, exported in accordance with bipartisan agreements by manufacturers of the mother country, on the basis of a price C. F. A. established according to the market price of oil for consumption in France.

## III. The Place of the Groundnut in the Present-day Senegalese Economy

258 The above reference to the activity of the Senegalese
439 oil-makers now permits the groundnut to be placed in the framework of an economy which has ceased to be solely colonial and which is employed to valorize the product exported.

1. The valorization of exports: decortication. A comparison of the details of the exports of 1935 with those of 1958 is truly eloquent: in fact the exports of groundnuts in shells, which represented 335,000 metric tons in 1935, have disappeared in 1958, while those of the decorticated product have gone from 16,000 to 330,000 metric tons during the same period. At export the transport of the crude product signified that of 28% of the weight in sterile matter, and the attempts to utilize this as fertilizer or for the making of paper were unsuccessful. After the war the acute shortage of maritime tonnage made the practice of decortication general. It is done today at different /22/ stages in the circuit of the groundnut: the place of production, the points of trade, and the

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258 439 ports, especially Kaolack. It is practiced by semi-industrial enterprises, usually dependent on the great commercial houses or the oil-factories, which utilize the decortication frame or tray, shaking tables, and blowers. This operation, which employs many laborers, permits a charge of about one franc C.F.A. per kilo of groundnuts in shells. It nevertheless imposes some problems: that of the rate of decortication, which varies from one campaign to another, around 71%, and that of the risk of acidification. The decorticated product deteriorates quite quickly, and, depending on the [435] times of the campaign, a rate of acidification of more than 3% or 5% causes a reduction in price.

258 Decortication is in fact only a preparation of the raw material. It is the presence today of the powerful oil-factories, constituting the essential part of its industry, that symbolizes the anxiety of Senegal to valorize on its soil its greatest wealth.

2. The Senegalese oil-factory. The industry of the oil-factory is a recent industry in Senegal. The first factory established was that of the Société électrique et industrielle du Baol at Djourbel in 1920. Then, after 1930, with the factory of the Huileries et Savonneries de l'Ouest Africain [388] /West African Oil and Soap Factories/, and especially the Etablissements Petersen, this industry came to Dakar. Nevertheless, until the war, its development was impeded by the protective measures taken at the demand of the oil-factories in the mother country: an export duty of 187 francs per quintal of oil in 1936; and a quota of only 5,800 metric tons, admitted free of import duty, in 1938. The war caused this regulation to disappear, and in 1942-1944 the great factory "Lesieur-Afrique" was established in Dakar.

258 433 After the war, the oil industry modernized its equipment and added to its capacity for trituration, which today amounts to about 500,000 metric tons of peanuts in shells, corresponding to a maximum production of about 165,000 metric tons of oil. Today, 125,000 metric tons of the

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433 that the great majority of the inhabitants of Senegal draw their only monetary resources from the groundnut.

651 For the Senegalese state, the groundnut plays an essential role in the budgetary resources. Without speaking of the various domestic imposts, the products of the groundnut, upon leaving the territory, support multiple duties and taxes: the fiscal export duty varies from 10% to 12% of the value of the product, according to its degree of elaboration; the taxes of inspection and condition are from 1.2% to 1.5%, and, finally, the groundnuts pay the fixed tax of 5.4% on transactions. In addition to these different duties, there are the assessment for the support funds, which is 700 francs C. F. A. per metric ton of groundnuts in shells, and the dues for the local stabilization fund, which vary from 175 francs C. F. A. per metric ton of the product in shells to 500 francs per metric ton of refined oil.

• [435] These various imposts correspond to more than 25% of the purchase price given to the producer for the product in shells. In 1957 the taxes gathered on the groundnuts for the [652] benefit of the Senegalese treasury exceeded a total of four billions C. F. A., when the budget proper of the territory for the same year was 8.1 billions.

439 433 Conclusion. The present situation permits a conclusion on the notion of "industrial monocultivation of the groundnut in Senegal." For some, it is /24/ regrettable to write in the passive about the economy of trade; for others it is the criterion of the passage of Senegal into the sphere of a commercialized economy, although in this case based on a single product, since, unlike such countries as the Ivory Coast, the attempts to develop other crops for speculation have not been successful here.

This economy of the groundnut, however, is at a turning point today, due to the evolution of the relations between Senegal and France and the existence of the common market.

In the framework of the former political system, and

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233 animals to drink. Nevertheless, cattle-raising remains a worthwhile enterprise, a herd doubling in three years.

[232] [654] [492] No serious attempt to improve the breed of cattle has been made by the administration.

Since the multiplication of automobiles, the horse has been somewhat forsaken. The breed is small, but sturdy.

/122/ As for sheep and goats, their rustic breed is resistant. This breeding does not require any care.

313 Forests. Forests cover a notable part of the circle. They must be protected because they are on the way to progressive disappearance as a result of the abuses of brush fires and systematic clearing by the native, wishing to increase his crops.

There is no methodical exploitation of the forests. The exploitation is confined to the cutting of palm trees for the production of charcoal. There still exist, however, some beautiful stands of hardwoods, especially of Gambia mahogany, or false mahogany, particularly in Bas-Saloum.

To the east, between Kaffrine and Koungheul, stocks of small bamboos exist, especially in the humid depressions. [342] These bamboos are cut by the natives who make panels out of them, called "crintings," to serve as closings or veranda partitions. [435] The price of these panels, from two to three meters long, varies between 15 and 25 francs.

316 Quarries. There are many laterite quarries, exploited for the most part. The stone is not as hard as at Rufisque or at Dakar.

317 433 Salt marshes. There is industrial exploitation of the salt marshes at Kaolack. The Société des Salines of Sine-Saloum has exploited the salt marshes at Diorana since 1915. The region of the Saloum is very fortunate from this viewpoint. The constant evaporation of the water of this arm of the sea and its many branches gives the liquid mass a degree of saturation much higher than that of the ocean water.